

# Tito, Khrushchev Patch Up Another "Friendship" Deal

By Daniel Roberts

As part of its continuing efforts to stabilize its rule in the Soviet Union and East Europe, the Kremlin has entered into a new political accord with the Titoist regime of Yugoslavia.

The Moscow radio announced Aug. 3 that after a two-day meeting in Rumania, Soviet party boss Khrushchev and Yugoslav President Tito had agreed "to work for a further all-around development of relations and for the removal of obstacles hindering this development." The agreement was presented as "strengthening... the unity and fraternal cooperation of the Communist and workers parties and the peoples of all the Socialist countries."

Tito and Khrushchev further "agreed on concrete forms of cooperation between the parties and on the maintaining of constant ties by the exchange of party delegations, mutual information and publications." Their political accord comes on the heels of a July 30 announcement that the Soviet Union would restate a \$250 million industrialization aid program for Yugoslavia.

The present accord marks the second reconciliation between the Soviet bureaucracy and the Tito regime. In 1955, Khrushchev and Bulganin traveled to Yugoslavia to heal the 1948 split forced on the Titoists by Stalin's determination to completely transform their government into a puppet regime. The 1955 agreement that was arrived at registered the Kremlin's failure to crush Yugoslav national independence. The Yugoslavs also received the promise of significant economic concessions.

In return, since the prestige of the Yugoslavs among the Soviet-orbit masses was far greater than that of Stalin's heirs, Tito gave the latter his political endorsement. The Titoists praised Khrushchev and Co. as men who were seeking to democratize Stalin's dictatorship and to genuinely build socialism. Furthermore, the Kremlin won the Yugoslav ally in its diplomatic efforts to establish "peaceful co-existence" deals with American imperialism.

The 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union with its policy of concessions to the working class at home and in Eastern Europe also brought closer relations with Yugoslavia. In June, 1956, Tito went to Moscow to ratify an agreement between the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the League of Communists of Yugoslavia. The agreement marked the resumption of formal ties between the two Communist parties. The agreement envisaged development of the "existing contacts between the two parties... with a view to co-operation in the international workers' movement." The latest Tito-Khrushchev accord in effect reactivates the June 1956 pact for political co-operation between the two Communist parties.

The eruption of working-class struggle against Stalinist despotism in Poland and Hungary brought the new rift between the Kremlin and the Tito regime. Although the Titoists, too, represented a bureaucratic formation ruling dictatorially over a workers' state, Yugoslavia's successful rebellion against Kremlin domination was exerting a revolutionary influence on the working class of Eastern Europe. And this deeply alarmed the Soviet oligarchs.

As Tito was to reveal in a Nov. 16 speech at Pula, the rift began right after the workers' rising in Poznan, Poland in July 1956. The Soviet CP chiefs "suddenly changed their attitude," he said. "They began getting colder. They thought that we Yugoslavs were responsible. Yes, we are responsible because we live in this world, because we are what we are..." The cleavage became an open one

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KHRUSHCHEV



TITO

## SWP Urges Detroit Elect Negro to City Council

DETROIT, Aug. 5 — The Socialist Workers Party today endorsed a second candidate for office in the Detroit city election primary to be held Sept. 10.

Earlier this year the SWP had endorsed Sarah Lovell, running for Mayor as a socialist, even though the "non-partisan" election rules prevent political affiliations from being listed on the ballot.

Today the SWP also endorsed William T. Patrick, Jr., for election to the Common Council. Up to now, the nine-member Council has always been lily-white in composition, although more than one-fifth of the city's population is Negro.

The reason for this is race prejudice, which the Democratic and Republican machines have fostered or tolerated.

### NEGRO REPRESENTATION

Opposing such prejudices, the SWP said in its statement today:

"Negroes have a right to representation at all levels of government. In addition, it will also be good for the white people to have on the Council at least one member representative of the aspirations of the Negro community and responsive to its needs, which in all essential are also the needs of the white workers."

Several months ago Sarah Lovell suggested that the Negro organizations hold a conference and pick one or more candidates for Council who would authentically represent the Negro community. No such conference was held, and 15 Negroes filed for Council on their own. Two have since withdrawn, but the danger still exists that none will win the

primary nomination unless support is concentrated behind a few of them.

The SWP today endorsed Patrick because it considers him to be the candidate most representative of the Negro community and the one standing the best chance of getting united Negro and labor support.

At the same time, the SWP made clear that it does not endorse Patrick's program. Patrick is a liberal, not a socialist, and his program suffers from all the weaknesses of liberalism. But in spite of his program, his candidacy offers the best means of strengthening the independent fight of the Negro community for representation in office.

Seconding the SWP's action today, Mrs. Lovell pledged that she too would work for Patrick's election.

"I don't think Mr. Patrick's program is sharp enough or goes far enough, and I won't hesitate to differ with him publicly on any issue where I think he takes the wrong position," she said. "But he represents an independent movement, arising out of the needs of the Negro community, that is progressive to the core and that merits the active support of everybody who hates Jim Crow."

"Despite our differences with his program, we will do everything we can, especially among white workers, to achieve labor and Negro unity behind his candidacy."

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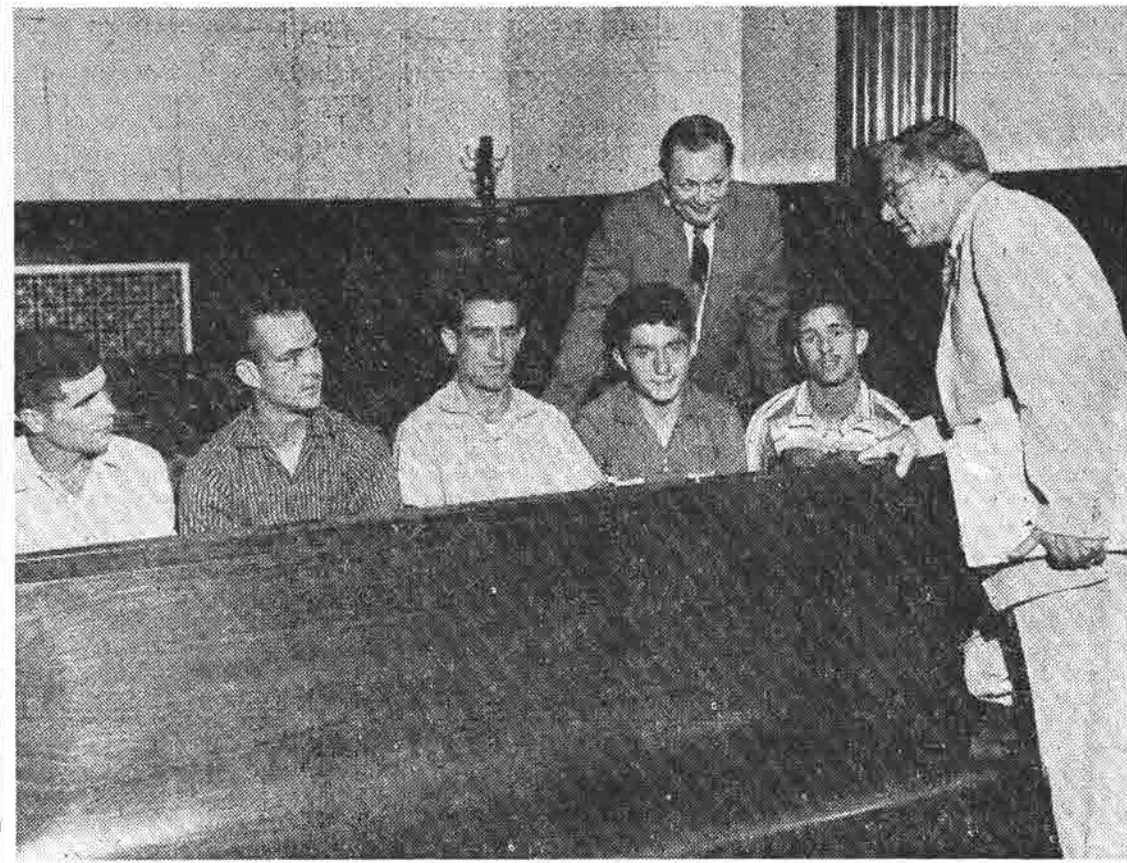
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## Both Major Parties Connive To Knife Bill on Civil Rights

They Flee Franco's Tyranny



Five young Spanish sailors who left their ships at San Diego to seek political asylum in Mexico from Franco's fascist regime are shown with ACLU attorneys A. L. Wirin (front right) and Hugh R. Manes. The ACLU is supporting the sailor's court fight against U.S. government attempts to return them to Spain.

## U.S. Tries to Send Five Back to Franco Terror

By Della Rosa

LOS ANGELES, Aug. 5 — Five young Spanish sailors who fled Franco's tyranny in Spain are now anxiously awaiting a ruling by the U.S. courts. This will determine whether they will be sent back to Spain to face certain imprisonment and possible execution or will be allowed to go to the political freedom they seek in Mexico.

The five sailors are Enrique Mendina Fernandez, Ginas Jimenez Martinez, Victor Rodriguez, Manuel Fernandez Rodriguez and Augustin Cabrera Orozco. They left their ship at San Diego last June and fled to the border town of Tijuana where they turned themselves over to the Mexican police and asked for political asylum in Mexico. Instead of getting the protection they asked for, they were tricked into signing a paper they didn't understand on the basis of which they were turned over to U.S. immigration authorities. They are now behind bars at Chula Vista, a little town just inside the California side of the border.

### AMERICAN ALLY

The Mexican government now offers them political asylum. But the U.S. authorities will still not release them. They invoke a 1902 treaty between this country and Spain providing for the return of army and navy deserters. However, the real reason why American authorities are determined to bind the five young Spaniards over to Franco is that the Spanish fascist dictator is a valued ally of U.S. Big Business and it is government policy to bolster his rule.

While the case of the five sailors is being fought in the courts by the American Civil Liberties Union through Attorneys A. L. Wirin and Hugh Manes, their ships are waiting in San Diego harbor to haul them back to Spain. These two

ships, the Lepanto and the Almirante Ferrandiz were once U.S. Navy vessels that were turned over to Franco last February and commissioned in the Spanish Navy in May. The five themselves received training at the hands of the U.S. Navy in San Francisco.

The ACLU is preparing a motion to stay their return to Spain after being denied a writ of habeas corpus last week. "We are prepared to take this case to the U.S. Supreme Court," Wirin told the Militant.

And if the five sailors were forced back to Spain, especially now that they had rebelled, what would happen? Through an interpreter, Ginas Jimenez Martinez, 21, told the court: "We will get at least six years in prison. Most likely they will shoot us for the truth we have spoken about Franco."

Manuel Fernandez Rodriguez testified that he was drafted and

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## Senate Liberals Play Shameful Role To Keep Political Ties with Dixiecrats

By Myra Tanner Weiss

Both capitalist parties demonstrated their callous indifference to the democratic rights of the Negro people when they cut the heart out of the final section of the civil rights bill last week by passing the jury-trial amendment. Thus the Dixiecrats — confident that no Southern white jury will convict racists for defying federal injunctions issued to prevent interference with the Negroes' right to vote — won more than they had reason to hope for.

Both capitalist parties are responsible for handing the victory to the racists. The shabby conduct of the liberal Democrats was the more glaring as all but nine of their number voted for the racists. The voting established clearly for all to see that the Southerners are top-dog in the Democratic Party and that the liberals will break all pledges to the Negro people to maintain party unity with the Dixiecrats.

## Labor's Responsibility

An Editorial

The official leadership of the trade union movement bears a heavy responsibility for the treacherous manner in which the majority of liberal Democrats in Congress worked with the Dixiecrats to gut the present civil rights measure. First of all, it should not be forgotten that these liberals owe their seats in Congress to the union officialdom who helped to elect them.

Secondly, Meany, Reuther and company did not exert themselves to mobilize a powerful mass labor lobby to put the heat on Congress for passage of a bill with teeth. It was labor's elementary obligation to the Negro people and to itself to take such action. Such labor pressure could have materially effected the outcome of the voting. Effective, militant labor pressure would have forced the Northern Democrats to take a long, second thought before proceeding with their cynical game of trading away the few meaningful clauses in the bill.

The fact that the union leaders failed to discharge this elementary responsibility is crushing new proof of the bankruptcy of their policy of keeping the labor movement hogtied to the Democratic machine. Once again "labor's friends" turned out to be labor's enemies and the men who call themselves the leaders of labor said or did nothing about it.

The union bureaucrats refused to act because they feared that to mobilize the ranks of labor and the Negro people for such action might disrupt their alliance with these capitalist politicians. And by the same token these politicians understood they could do pretty much as they pleased because they feel confident that they have the vote and money-gathering resources of the AFL-CIO officialdom in their vest pocket.

So once again the men whom the working people and Negroes of this country are regularly called upon to support as the "lesser evil" proved in the showdown to be indistinguishable from the greater evil. And so long as the labor movement is kept fastened to the Democratic party, so long will the sellouts continue.

The way out is for the ranks of labor to force a break with the Democrats and to organize for the building of an independent labor party capable of fighting for their interests. Until this happens Congress will continue to block civil rights and all other measures urgently needed by the working people.

### LIBERALS' ROLE

The Aug. 5 New York Post, a leading spokesman for the liberal Democrats, quoted the gloating speech of Dixiecrat Senator Johnston of South Carolina. "When wild advocates of civil rights legislation this very year came closer than since Reconstruction days to passing [civil rights] legislation..." said Johnston, "it was the Democratic Party leadership from the West, some from the North and some from the Eastern states that joined the Southern ranks. Quite frankly, the South alone would have been beaten to death on this issue without help."

The Post editors add: "What he is saying is a clear confession that the chance for truly effective civil rights legislation was finally at hand and that only the capitulation of a bloc of liberal Democrats saved the day for the Southern diehards."

In another editorial, Aug. 4, the Post, in a rage of frustration, editorially denounced the liberals as "feeble little men [who] seek to depict such surrender as a form of 'statesmanship' or 'practical politics.' Actually these self-styled advocates of civil rights succeeded in snatching defeat from the jaws of victory."

### ON GOP SIDE

The two Republican presidential aspirants, Senator Knowland (R-Calif.) and Vice President Nixon led the unsuccessful fight for passage of the bill without the jury-trial amendment. They lost the "battle" primarily because it was the show of a fight that concerned them most — a performance given in anticipation of the 1960 elections.

Commenting on the possibility that the remnants of the civil rights bill may now die in committee when the Senate version is turned over to the House, the Scripps - Howard Washington staff, on Aug. 3, warned the Republicans that they "will have to maneuver cautiously to avoid confirming charges heard in cloak room talk that they've been intending all along to prevent passage this year and had hoped a Southern filibuster would get the blame." (The Scripps-Howard newspapers are prominent Republican organs.)

During the Senate debate on the bill President Eisenhower admitted that he was not too familiar with its contents. The passage of the jury-trial amendment, however, stirred the president's interest and even passion. He declared himself "bitterly disappointed" that the amendment carried. According to the Aug. 3 N. Y. Times, the president's aides described him as "angrier than at any time before in his four and one-half years in the White House."

What aroused his ire most, however, was not that the power to enforce the right of the Negroes to vote had been destroyed, but that the omnibus jury-trial amendment might weaken all federal injunctions including those customarily used against labor.

A compromise is now being "privately" discussed to limit the jury-trial provision to (Continued on page 4)

## N.Y. Bosses, Racketeers Exploit Puerto Ricans

By Fred Halstead

New details on a widespread and long standing practice in New York City — the use of racketeers by employers to prevent low-paid workers from organizing — have been revealed in connection with a strike victory in Manhattan and Senate committee hearings in Washington.

The strike was by 200 workers, mostly Puerto Ricans, against the Styl-Rite optical frame company and the phony "union" with which the company had a sweetheart contract in an attempt to keep the workers from building a real union in the shop. The workers, whose wages — like those of more than a million other Negro and Puerto Rican workers in New York City — were close to the legal minimum, had joined District 65 of the Retail, Wholesale and Department Store Union two months ago.

### NEVER SAW CONTRACT

The boss refused to bargain showing them a "contract" with local 123 of the International Jewelry Workers Union. The workers had never seen that "contract," had never enjoyed union benefits. They struck, and

last week won when a contract was signed with District 65. This marks the first major victory in recent times against an employer using the racket-union dodge in New York City.

### A DIO "LOCAL"

In testimony before the Senate labor probe committee, which is presently concerned with the New York City area, Bertha Nunez a young Spanish speaking worker, last week told of her experiences while employed at Century Product Works here. The boss signed a "contract" with a local, run by racketeer John Dioguardi, of the Allied Industrial Workers (formerly the UAW-AFL). No benefits were provided beyond a raise in weekly pay of \$2 bringing it up to \$38. Under threat of firing, the workers paid initiation fees of from \$15 to \$20 and dues of \$4 per month.

Upon attempting to organize, the workers found legitimate unions reluctant to back them because the phony contract was a legal bar, for one or two years, to certification by the NLRB of a legitimate union.

Both the AIW and the Jewelry Workers are affiliated with the AFL-CIO. In testimony before

the committee, John McNiff, 22-year-old member of the New York branch of the Association of Catholic Trade Unionists, named at least four locals of each of these international as notorious in the New York area for such racket deals. He also listed a number of independent "unions" as well as locals of other AFL-CIO affiliates as similar instruments of employer-gangster collusion.

These things have been common knowledge within the labor movement in New York for years, but there was virtual silence about them until the low paid workers began to force the issue themselves last year. (A highly informative series on the exploitation of Puerto Rican workers in New York appeared in the New York Post July 15-22.)

In April, 1956, the employees of Morgan's Leather Goods, whose average weekly pay was \$42, were called into the boss's

office and signed up in local 1648, then affiliated with the Retail Clerks International Association. The workers had heavy dues taken out of their pay and received no benefits. They protested and then formed their own Workers Organizing Committee. Unable to get backing from a legitimate union, but with legal aid from the ACTU, they petitioned the NLRB for an election in the name of their committee.

### LEGAL VICTORY

On Oct. 3 they refused to leave the plant in protest against paying dues to the phony union. City police ousted them, and they set up picket lines in the street. The strike was broken after months of picketing, but gained much publicity and a belated legal victory when the NLRB finally issued complaints of unfair labor practices against the boss and Local 1648.

On this background the AFL-CIO launched an investigation and several of the racket locals have been kicked out or suspended. A Labor Advisory Committee on Puerto Rican Affairs, with some 60 unions participating, is "studying the problem." But until the Styl-

Rite strike, where District 65 and the International Union of Electrical Workers finally united behind the workers, and the top AFL-CIO supported the strike, nothing had been accomplished concretely.

The Senate committee is not going to clean up the labor racketeers in New York City. Neither will the meeting of business, labor and police officials, called by Mayor Wagner on the question, do the job. A mass meeting called by the labor movement, inviting the Negro and Puerto Rican workers to demonstrate against all sweetheart contracts, for full democratic participation in all unions, and for a \$1 an hr. across-the-board increase for all the low paid workers, would be much more effective.

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## CP's Position On Soviet Jews

By Harry Ring

When the Communist Party held its national convention last February it was confronted with the urgent need to take a stand on the disclosures of the destruction of

the national rights of the Jewish people in the Soviet Union. The leadership of the Communist Party prevented a discussion of this issue by the convention delegates. Instead, under the shabby pretext of "pressure of other business," it put through a motion to refer a resolution on the question to the incoming national committee.

On July 21, the Worker reported that the new national committee had finally adopted a resolution on the Jewish question in the Soviet Union. The resolution is worth examining in the context of previous CP pronouncements on the question.

### N. Y. RESOLUTION

Last March 31, the New York State convention of the Communist Party adopted a resolution on the Jewish question. A week later, the Daily Worker in a lengthy editorial entitled "A Fortright Resolution," triumphantly hailed this action as a bone-crushing proof of the "new course" charted by the party, a course which was supposed to end ideological subservience to the Kremlin.

Actually the resolution was far from "fortright." True, it expressed "shock" at the slaughter of Jewish writers under Stalin. It deplored the abrogation of the national rights of the Jews which are supposed to be guaranteed by the Soviet constitution and it even pressed the Soviet government for a statement of intentions on the Jews. But at the same time it attempted to assure a deeply troubled Communist Party membership of its full confidence that "the Soviet Party, which is steadily correcting the errors of the Stalin period, will, in the process it has begun of examining the Jewish question and the Leninist solution to it, give full expression to the cultural needs and desires of the Jewish people."

### NO EVIDENCE

This expression of "confidence" was a new effort to whitewash the Kremlin bureaucracy which has destroyed the great gains won by the Soviet Jews as a result of the 1917 revolution. The resolution did not and could not offer a shred of evidence to bolster its claim that the Kremlin was "examining" the question or seeking a "Leninist solution," to it. All the available facts proved the contrary and continue to prove the contrary to this day.

The New York State convention whitewash job was still fresh in my mind as I sat down to read the report on the present national committee resolution. This time there was no editorial fanfare. Not even the entire text of the resolution was published. Instead I found a series of extracts buried in a report on five different resolutions adopted by the committee. These extracts seemed extremely familiar. I checked back on the resolution adopted four months ago and, lo and behold, found the published extracts of the present resolution to be the straight, word-for-word repetitions of the New York resolution!

In other words, four months

later—four months in which Khrushchev and company have still not uttered a mumbling word that would indicate an improvement of the lot of the Jews—the leadership of the Communist Party brazenly repeats its "confidence" that the "errors" are being rectified and things are going to be fine and dandy for the Soviet Jews.

This gratuitous insult to rank-and-file Communists was apparently too much even for the Jewish language daily, Freiheit, to stomach raw. In the same issue in which it reported adoption of the resolution, Freiheit also pointedly published a recent, devastating exchange on the Jewish question between the Soviet Society for Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries and the Jewish Progressive Center in Melbourne, Australia. The exchange was prompted by a resolution on the Jewish question forwarded to the USSR by the Melbourne group which is pro-Soviet.

### PRESTO—NO MORE PROBLEM

Replying to this resolution, the Soviet letter asserts with typical bureaucratic arrogance that it springs from an ignorance of "the life and culture of the Soviet peoples." The Soviet government agency claims that in all countries, except Israel, Jews are "naturally" assimilated. It then blandly asserts, "There is no Jewish 'problem' in the USSR. For the overwhelming majority of the Soviet Jews, their national language is Russian or the language of the Republic in which they live." The letter continues, "We do not deny that at a certain time there occurred in the Soviet Union certain violations of Soviet legality that have hit Soviet Jews in the same way as they hit Soviet citizens of other nationalities. Those who suffered innocently by these violations, Jews as well as non-Jews, are being rehabilitated and given back their full rights." Finally it assures the Australians that the Jews have made big advances as "part of the multi-million family of the Soviet people."

In a slashing reply which receives the editorial endorsement of Freiheit, the Australians dispose of these arguments. They write: "You point out in your answer to us . . . that Jews are permitted into all parts of the national economy and culture. We are very satisfied to hear that . . . But that is not the whole story. We Jews in Australia also have full citizenship rights, as have Jews in a series of other democratic countries. But we don't make much of a hullabaloo about it. . . ."

### DISTINGUISHING FEATURE

"What we have always considered a special manifestation of advanced social legislation in the Soviet Union was the fact that Jews, thanks to the revolution, had obtained equal rights, not just as INDIVIDUALS but also as a NATIONAL group. The Jewish culture had been given full rights with all other national cultures . . . not as a favor, but as a commonplace duty of a socialist government. (Emphasis in original.)"

"What caused us to speak up," the letter adds, "is not only what you call 'violations of legality in which Jews and non-Jews suffered.' That is a matter by itself. But something else happened too—namely, the complete and total liquidation of every sign and expression of the . . . Jewish people's culture."

And the National Committee of the Communist Party, in the name of its "new look," solemnly assures us of its "confidence" that the very people responsible for the crimes detailed in the letter of the Australians are going to rectify them any day now!

# The Workers Councils in Yugoslavia

By C. R. Hubbard

For the first time since the Yugoslav Communist Party took power a congress of Workers Councils was convened. The Congress was in session for three days, June 25, 26 and 27, and was attended by 1,745 delegates elected by Workers Councils throughout the country.

The fact that the Congress was convened—seven years after the Workers Councils were formed and over a decade after the YCP came to power—is a symptom of the growth of the revolutionary consciousness and activity of the working class in the East European countries. In Hungary and in Poland these formations sprang into being without official permission or sponsorship and immediately challenged the power of the Stalinist bureaucrats. Indeed in Hungary, for almost an entire month last year, they functioned as revolutionary organs of the working class similar to the role played by the Soviets in Russia in 1905 and 1917.

The problem of Workers Councils and what attitude the Communist Parties in the Soviet orbit should take toward them has become a central issue in the controversy between Tito and the Kremlin. It was first raised in a sharp form in the fall of 1956 when the Soviet Union crushed the Hungarian revolution and began the job of disarming and disorganizing the Workers Councils in Hungary.

### TITO PLAYS KREMLIN

At the June Congress in Yugoslavia Tito again made a sharp attack against the Kremlin and its opposition to workers councils. He said, "When the apologists of dogmatism of a doubtful origin now dispute the value of our system of workers' self-government, calling it anarchy, etc., we have not the least necessity, from a Marxist viewpoint, to justify the correctness and the efficiency of our system of work-



Polish workers shown above applaud a motion supporting Gomulka's resistance to the Kremlin last October. One product of the October events was the creation by workers in many leading factories of workers' councils. Gomulka has warned these councils against seeking to become organs of workers' political power.

ers' self-government theoretically because it has proved its full value in practice. . . . The true democratic and socialist relations in the production are realized." (Review of International Affairs, July 1.)

Tito's denunciation of the Kremlin, (the dogmatists of "doubtful origin") was enthusiastically received by the delegates. Barbara Castle, New Statesman reporter at the Congress, described the pitiful 45-minute apology for "democratic centralism," made by Grishin, representing the Soviet trade unions. "As one eastern satellite visitor after another stumped to the rostrum in his wake to list woodenly their achievements on the Soviet model," Barbara Castle reported, "the delegates' fury could scarcely be restrained. Their whisperings and mut-

terings struck the most spontaneous note of the whole conference." Loga-Sovinski, one of Gomulka's right hand men, after Tito, topped the Congress "popularity poll" when he defended the workers councils of Yugoslavia.

It is true, as Barbara Castle warns, that "It would be wrong to dismiss 'workers' participation' [in the planned economy] as a facade." The workers "freely and genuinely make a large number of economic and social decisions." For example, she says, they decide such questions as "whether to increase bus fares in order to get a better service; to subsidize or not to subsidize; how rewards shall be distributed." The bureaucrats in Yugoslavia are thus compelled to open the door to workers' participation in running the "workers' economy" at least to some extent.

### STATISTICS

According to the Yugoslav Statistical Institute, less than 10% of the workers in industries employing over 30 workers belong to the councils, and the overwhelming majority of these are in the skilled and office category. In these enterprises only 30,232 production and office workers actually serve on managing boards.

Just the same, the councils are strictly limited to subsidiary problems of production. On general economic policy they have no say whatsoever. The workers are reduced to a purely "advisory" role. Even the national

the opposition of Khrushchev and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union to workers councils is not difficult to understand. The bureaucratic caste in Russia is far richer and more entrenched than the East European rulers. And the working class is far more powerful and politically conscious in the Soviet Union. To yield any kind of independent role, no matter how limited, to mass organizations of the workers would be an irreparable breach in the whole

ing the Hungarian uprising. Then Khrushchev's purge of Molotov, Malenkov and Kaganovich, which reflected a new attempt by the Soviet bureaucracy to stabilize its rule through concessions to the working class laid the basis for renewed accord with the Yugoslavs.

## ... New Tito-Khrushchev Accord

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after the outbreak of the Hungarian revolution in October 1956.

Actually, Tito and his associates supported the crushing of the Hungarian revolution by Soviet troops. Although criticizing the first armed Soviet intervention against the Hungarian people, they upheld the second use of troops after Nov. 4. Thus in the showdown between the working class and the bureaucratic oligarchy, the Yugoslav CP leaders—out of their own bureaucratic self-interest—ranged themselves against the insurgent masses.

However, they also urged the Soviet bureaucrats to retain the policy of concessions to the masses as embodied in the line of the 20th Congress of the CPSU. They praised the settlement that granted limited national independence to Poland and supported the Gomulka regime. In his Pula speech, Tito warned against the "Stalinist elements" in the Soviet orbit and counterposed to them those elements in the CP's willing to adopt a measure of democratic reforms.

In a Dec. 7 speech on the Hungarian events, Edward Kardelj, Yugoslavia's Vice-President, urged the Kadar regime—to which the Tito government had granted recognition—to come to an agreement with the Workers' Councils. " . . . We have deemed it indispensable," said Kardelj, "to extend political support to the Kadar government, expecting or hoping that this government would be capable and that it would want to follow just the course of linking itself with the working class, that is, with the Workers' Coun-

cil, as well as other truly democratic and socialist currents in Hungary."

In the rest of his speech, Kardelj argued for reforming the bureaucratic structure lest Kremlin adherence to Stalinist monolithic rule produce new Hungarian type explosions.

But hell-bent on crushing the revolutionary movement of the Hungarian workers, the Kremlin did not propose to soften its brutal drive in any way. It therefore had no use for the Titoist line of combining repressions with a show of new reforms.

Relations between Moscow and Belgrade, while not completely disrupted, as they were in the 1948-55 period remained embittered during the months following the Hungarian uprising.

Two of his brothers had died fighting Franco's troops during the civil war in the 1930's that brought the fascist dictator to power. A third brother escaped to Chile.

"When I was small, anyone who opposed the Falange [the fascist party] was shot. All the people of our village were made to watch the executions. Anyone who failed was accused of Communist sympathies."

Working conditions were miserable, Rodriguez said, and he could get only the poorest jobs, especially after he quit the Falange. This was when he was 15 and he had already spent a year in it. A quarter of his pay, he said, was kept by the employer because he was not in the party. As for union protests, there was only the Falange union, and it tore up grievance petitions.

Then Hugh Manes questioned another sailor who told the court he wanted to live in Mexico, "for

the simple reason there is no freedom in my country under Franco. I was looking for a country where I would be free."

He continued the picture of how even the young were oppressed in every phase of life by the Franco dictatorship.

"I had to join the Falange to go to high school. When they gave me a uniform I wanted no part of it. After a month they required me to swear an oath to support Franco personally. I didn't want to. He didn't give us freedom."

From then on his high school teachers made it rough on him, making him repeat courses. Because he did not belong to the Falange he could not get a job in commerce, which he had studied for. So he was forced to return home to work on a farm with his father. His father and his uncle "were put in jail several times because they did not want to fight for Franco."

Enrique Medina Fernandez took the stand next and testified that he signed for a second hitch in the Spanish navy while waiting for a chance to escape. "I wanted a country that respected the rights of its citizens. I wanted to be able to get a job and earn enough to have a family. . . ."

Interviewed later on the case, Manes told the Militant: "As I listened to the testimony I had the terrible feeling that Franco's Spain was Orwell's '1984.' There was an oppression, a watching, a constraint that invaded every phase of life. There is no doubt that they should be protected as political refugees, just as the Hungarians were."

In his argument on the case, Wirin said, "In one instance we have offered a reward of \$100,000 to any person in an Iron Curtain country who would leave that country and who would steal a Russian MIG and bring it to the U.S. So we have offered political asylum to those who are opposed to totalitarianism, we have offered them money, we have offered them citizenship, we have encouraged them to steal military weapons."

"These men [the Spanish sailors] are not charged with stealing any destroyer. They are merely charged with having left ship to seek political asylum."

Of the eleven temporary members, the following were dropped from the permanent administrative committee: William Z. Foster, George Blake Charney, Dixie Wilkerson and Charles Lohman. A majority of the present committee are not committed to either the Foster or Gates wings of the leadership and a number of them are known as supporters of Eugene Dennis.

The system of selecting "secretaries," is a newly-devised substitute for the traditional party procedure of having the convention elect such officers as national chairman and national secretary. The division among the party leaders at the last convention made it impossible for them to agree upon such officers, despite their claim of having achieved a "high degree of unity" at the convention.

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Congress of Workers Councils had no power to decide anything.

In China, too, the bureaucratic caste in its effort to overcome its isolation from the masses and stimulate production, is experimenting with various forms of workers' participation in the management of production. Whether the workers should be given a voice through their trade unions, through councils, or some other form, is now under discussion and provisional groups have been organized in a number of factories in Peking and Shanghai.

### AN ANALOGY

Tito's workers councils and Mao's experiments can best be understood by analogy with company unions that some U.S. capitalists organized before the great labor upsurge in the 1930's.

In order to prevent genuine unions from organizing against the bosses, the companies sponsored "unions" which could easily be controlled. Sometimes avenues were even opened up for the expression of grievances—as a safety valve and a means of eliminating militants.

Similarly, both Tito and Mao feel the need to grant the workers some voice. Both hope thereby to strengthen their control over the working class. They point out to the Kremlin that limited organs of workers' control are the alternative to a Hungarian development—that is to the creation by the workers themselves of organizations that from their inception will challenge the bureaucracy's political and economic domination.

But just as many of the company-sponsored unions in the U.S. were transformed into militant instruments of struggle in the upsurge of the working class in the 1930's so the carefully controlled and restricted councils in Yugoslavia—and now perhaps in China—can be transformed into organs of the workers' democracy that will destroy the

bureaucratic rule over the workers' states from top to bottom.

### PRESSURE MOUNTING

The pressure of the Yugoslav workers was already evident at the June congress of workers councils. As Barbara Castle reported, "Delegate after delegate at the Congress demanded greater control by the workers' councils over their own revenues and over wages policy (at present closely controlled by federal regulations)." And it will not be long before they also demand political power as well.

This is what the Kremlin fears. The bureaucratic caste in the Soviet Union, older and more ruthless in the struggle to protect its privileges against the workers, must feel a cold shiver travel down its spine at all this talk of workers' self-government.

This is all the more true because of the rich traditions of workers' self-rule in the Soviet Union during the years 1917-1922 when the Bolshevik Party under Lenin and Trotsky based themselves on the democratically elected soviets. It was precisely the revolutionary rule of the soviets that marked a leap forward in freedom over the limited parliamentary democracy of capitalism. But the bureaucratic caste rode to power by crushing the organs of workers' democracy (it kept the soviets only in name) and now stands in dread before the prospect of their revival.

The heart of the problem of democracy in the Soviet orbit is still the question of creating genuine workers' councils, or soviets, anew. When these finally break through the Kremlin repressions and Titoist restrictions, there will be no more purges, political prisons, frame-ups and the other manifestations of Stalinist tyranny. The world struggle for socialism will make a new leap forward.

## World Events

NEHRU DEMANDS OUTLAW OF STRIKES in government industries and those connected with war material production in India. This was his answer to a strike of 400,000 inflation-plagued government workers, scheduled to begin August 9. Addressing Parliament, Nehru admitted the serious extent of the current inflation, but contended that the solution to India's problems lay in national unity, not in strikes.

A STUDENT STRIKE in China led by Young Communist League members took place near the industrial city of Hankow last June, reported the N.Y. Times of Aug. 7. One thousand students demonstrated for two days before returning to class.

A TWO-DAY GENERAL STRIKE exploded in Cuba on Aug. 4 centering in the city of Santiago de Cuba but spreading to other cities on the island. The strike, aimed at the Batista regime, was limited by the refusal of officials of the Cuban Confederation of Labor to go along with it. Five national labor leaders who did participate in the strike have been imprisoned.

HELD IN PRISON by the Venezuelan government, a U.S. tourist, George B. Savitsky, lodged a protest to Secretary of State Dulles. According to Savitsky, while listening to cries of torture in other cells, he was questioned extensively about opposition to Dominican dictator Trujillo.

FORCED LABOR IN SIBERIA or other remote areas have been decreed for a broad list of "anti-social" youths. Included in the list are youths who "parasitically refuse to work," and those who don't like the Soviet Union's regimented way of life. Exile is not to be decided by a court but by "street committee or an apartment house manage-

ment committee . . . or in rural areas by a village soviet."

A MOSCOW STUDENT reportedly told others at the World Youth Festival that 90% of the students at the Moscow University oppose the Kremlin line on Hungary.

M. H. GLUCK couldn't name the heads of the governments of India and Ceylon when asked by a Senate Committee but he was picked by Eisenhower to serve as U.S. ambassador to Ceylon. Gluck could and did contribute \$30,000 or more to Republican election campaigns.

BACKING OUT OF THE WILD CHARGE that an "international communist plot" was responsible for the assassination of Castillo Armas, the Guatemalan government conceded that now the background seemed to be "local" in character. In addition, according to the N.Y. Times, Aug. 1, "well-informed sources have indicated separately that in the first tense hours after the shooting, there actually was strong pressure toward the establishment of a military junta."

PRESSURE OF BRITISH LABOUR, including the Communist Party, finally yielded the release from Soviet imprisonment of Len Wincott, 50-year-old veteran of the Invergordon Mutiny of 1931. Following the mutiny, Wincott was dismissed from service by the Admiralty and went to work in the Soviet Union. On charges that are still not clear he was arrested and held in a concentration camp for more than ten years.

UNREST IN STEEL FOUNDRIES was reported last month in Nepkerat, Hungarian trade union newspaper. This was due, according to the report, to the lowering of hourly wages, the danger of unemployment and the fact that the workers were forced to work on Sundays.

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## The Nazi Documents

The publication on July 31 of hitherto secret Nazi diplomatic correspondence disclosing negotiations between Nazi officials and such stalwarts within the capitalist democracies as James D. Mooney, a top official of General Motors, and the Duke of Windsor should serve as a reminder of one of the basic facts about World War II — a fact which is all-important to an understanding of the cold war of today. That fact is that there was never any question in the minds of the top capitalist rulers, "democratic" or fascist, about their common enmity to the Soviet Union.

The recently published documents, released in an edited form by the U.S., British and French governments into whose hands they fell when Berlin was captured in 1945, cover the period from June 23 through August 31, 1940. This was during the high point of Nazi power, just after the fall of France. The documents reveal the high hopes of the Nazi government for a negotiated peace with Britain and a deal with the U.S. The Nazi diplomats were busy making overtures to all elements in U.S. or British Big Business circles they thought would favor suppressing the inter-imperialist rivalries and uniting with German Big Business in a "crusade against bolshevism."

But the inter-imperialist rivalries were to prove too strong for the various imperialist powers to unite in a war against the Soviet Union.

Instead, top Big Business policy makers in the U.S. decided that the world markets and the colonial areas of China, the Middle East, Africa, and Latin America

were first to be secured against encroachment by their German, Japanese and Italian rivals. After that was done, the next task would be for the capitalist world — under the dominance of the most powerful among the victors, U.S. imperialism — to strike against the USSR.

The plan went awry. The war produced the complete collapse of capitalist rule in its weakest sectors — Yugoslavia first, then Eastern Europe and China. It opened the floodgates of the colonial revolution. It produced a powerful resurgence of the working-class movement in France and Italy and a deep swing to the left of the British workers. The conquering U.S. Army itself became unreliable for purposes of a new imperialist war because of the GI's "We-want-to-go-home" demonstrations which shook up the military brass from Manila to Vienna.

Confronted with these mass movements, U.S. Big Business was forced to revamp the timetable of its projected assault on the Soviet Union and the colonial peoples. It did succeed in launching the cold war in 1947 and the Korean "police action" in 1950. But the rising strength of the colonial revolution and of the Soviet economy has imposed renewed delays.

Just the same, the Nazi documents are there to remind us that the cold war is not an aberration of certain Big Business politicians but the inevitable continuation of the imperialist course pursued by Big Business as a whole. This course, which heads to World War III, can be overcome — as it has already been seriously hindered — by the developing world socialist revolution.

## A Day of Infamy

Twelve years ago on August 6 was truly American capitalism's "day of infamy." This was the day that President Harry Truman announced that a U.S. plane had razed the Japanese city of Hiroshima with a new type of bomb which he said was equivalent to ten thousand tons of TNT.

The world soon became generally aware that the explosion of this new atomic weapon had brought an enormous number of civilian casualties. But it was only later that the full, horrifying extent of the toll of this barbaric act became broadly public. Today it is established that 200,000 people either died or are slated for death as a result of that first "primitive" atomic explosion.

That fearful act was later "justified" with the claim that it ended World War II. But before all of the troops had even arrived home, Wall Street had launched its preparations for World War III. The cream of the world's scientists were mobilized to develop the deadly new hydrogen bomb.

Twelve years ago, the "man on the street" had but the vaguest conception of "atomic energy." As a result of the U.S.-initiated testing program of nuclear bombs, such dread-inspiring terms as "radioactive fallout" and "Strontium 90" have virtually become household words.

## Trotskyism and the Soviet Union

Last week we reported that a number of Ceylonese Trotskyist leaders of the Lanka Samasamaja Party had recently made visits to the Soviet Union as members of a parliamentary delegation. Additional visits were made to both China and Czechoslovakia.

When the invitations were extended there was no question as to the Trotskyist viewpoint of the LSSP representatives. LSSP leader Colvin R. deSilva put the matter this way: "The Soviet authorities knew well that I am a Trotskyist. Nevertheless they put me on the Moscow radio three times. . . They also made me appear on their television beam which is said to reach three million people."

The Soviet invitation to the Ceylonese Trotskyist poses a serious and insistent question. According to official Kremlin dogma, as established through the device of the Moscow trials in the 1930's, Trotskyism is a counter-revolutionary anti-Soviet tendency. While the entire world knows that these charges and the trials from which they sprung are frameups, the fact remains that the charges have never been officially rescinded.

This is no mere issue of abstract justice for the dead. It is extremely relevant for

the living as demonstrated by the simple fact that Trotskyism remains an illegal tendency within the Soviet Union. Trotsky's writings and Trotskyism as a political tendency does not have freedom of expression within the Soviet Union.

Yet the invitation to the Ceylonese is recognition on the Kremlin's part that Trotskyism is a legitimate and leading tendency in the movement of the Asian people.

Khrushchev and his associates cannot long maintain so contradictory a stand. The issue is an irrepressible one. Khrushchev was compelled to admit at the 20th Congress that the Moscow trials were nothing less than mass murder. More recently Marshall Zhukov demanded a complete review of all the purge trials.

Inseparable from these developments is the issue of granting to Soviet Trotskyism its legitimate rights. This matter is also of concern for the world radical movement. The present discussion which is attempting to assess the causes of the agonizing Stalin era receives full clarity only when Stalinism is examined in relation to its basic opposition — the theory and program of Trotskyism.

# No Bed of Roses for Executives

THE EXECUTIVE LIFE by the Editors of Fortune. Doubleday & Co. Garden City, N.Y. 1956. 223 pages. \$3.50.

Reviewed by Joyce Cowley

Defining executives as "the few at the top," the editors of Fortune have prepared a complete report on the top three men in the 250 biggest industrial firms, 25 biggest railroads and 25 biggest utilities in the U.S. The result is a fascinating

study of both the rewards and the hardships of an executive's life. In the past, as I grabbed a quick sandwich at Woolworth's, I envied the executive at his two or three-hour lunch "conference." Speculating about next year's sales over a steak

and Martinis, with an expense account to take care of the bill, looked pretty good to me. Now I realize that the pace and complexity of a boss's life, plus all that eating and drinking may lead to overweight, ulcers, heart trouble, a nervous breakdown and possibly early death.

It's hard work but the pay is good. I was particularly interested in the chapter: "How Much Are Executives Worth?" While the authors don't answer this question, they do give a good deal of specific information as to what executives are paid. The median income of the 900 covered in this survey was \$70,000 to \$80,000—\$100,000 for presidents, and this is called "hardly princely compensation. . . . They live pretty well, but some of them just about keep ahead of the sheriff."

While \$100,000 is not much in comparison to top salaries like \$456,654 for Chairman Grace of U.S. Steel, it should be enough for rent and groceries, especially when you add all the fringe benefits and "tax sheltered rewards" which most executives receive. The list is imposing: annuities, deferred pay and stock options, insurance, club memberships, use of company cars and planes, housing maintenance, entertainment and travel allowances, discounts, dining rooms, magazine subscriptions.

### FRINGE BENEFITS

Let's examine one or two of these items to see exactly what they mean. Stock options, for example. When I. F. McCollum became president of Continental Oil, he got a salary of \$125,000 plus stock options of 50,000 shares of common stock which in the next five years showed a profit of \$1,500,000. This is a substantial fringe benefit.

"Deferred pay" is worthwhile, too. It is a plan to save the ex-

ecutive taxes by paying part of his salary after he has retired. For instance: Chairman K. T. Keller of Chrysler was paid \$300,000 a year until he retired, then received a pension of \$25,000 a year plus "deferred payment" of \$75,000 a year for life.

Another consolation for the executive is the knowledge that his salary is one of the most stable items in the corporation's budget, and will not drop as sharply as a worker's income during periods of depression. One study has shown that the salaries of officers of 100 large corporations fell, on the average, less than 3% during 1928 and 1933.

Nevertheless, the authors contend that executives are not paid enough. They point out that almost everything connected with U.S. economy has grown two or three times bigger, while the rewards for running that economy move "sluggishly." (Statistics in the same chapter show that the income of executives rose 24% from 1950 to 1953. They call this sluggish.)

The idea that executives receive "unreasonable" sums is based, they say, on the "puritanical concept that there is something 'wrong' about very large rewards for managers." So we get back to the original question: What are executives worth? Do they really earn these large rewards? According to this study their chief function is to "set company-wide policy and make major decisions." Since this is their main job and they get up to half a million a year for it, I concluded that executives must exercise remarkable wisdom and accuracy in their decisions. So I was startled when the authors asked: "Should good results in business then be equated with good decisions? Not necessarily." They point out that the Wilmington oil field of the Union Pacific Railroad turned up unexpectedly in one of their industrial sites and admit that chance plays a large part in business success.

Judging by their own statements, executives don't feel that accuracy is very important. William Zwickendorf, president of Webb & Knapp, says: "If you are right one time in five, you're doing all right, and we do a lot better than that." Philip H. Meyers, president of Fashion Frocks, Inc., says: "The difference between a successful executive and an unsuccessful one is the difference between being right 52% of the time and right only 48% of the time." Edward Wilkie, president of Pacific American Fisheries: "I'd say 300 is a good batting average in our business."

It is obviously not their extraordinary foresight that gives executives the right to such large salaries, so I think they must be getting premium pay for unusually difficult work. In chapter after chapter, I learned about the intricate problems they deal with, certainly far different from those the average worker has to face. Why shouldn't they expect liberal compensation for the added strain, hardship and complexity of the executive life?

In the first place, it's not easy to get a job at \$100,000 a year. The statistics indicate that the very best approach is to be the son of the man who founded the company. You should at least be born into a family that is "economically comfortable" and get a good education, preferably at Harvard. Once in the labor market, you must do a great deal of delicate maneuvering and it's vitally important not to let anyone know you need a job.

It's a lot easier for a worker, who can walk right into the personnel office and ask for employment. Since "man-hunters" (this sounds alarming but is just a term for personnel consultants) spend an average of \$15,000 to "lend" an executive, it sounds like all the prospect has to do is sit there and let someone find him. But that's the problem. He has to indicate in subtle ways that he is available. He may, for example, "invite a bunch of his business associates for cocktails and talk about practically everything but his job status, trusting that those present will catch on." Job hunting by these methods can take as long as a year and prove quite expensive.

Once an executive is hired, he can't just sit back and enjoy that \$70,000 or \$80,000 a year. He has to figure out how to do even better, and getting a raise is tough too. If he suggests that another company is willing to pay a higher price for his services, he will be accused of disloyalty for even listening to such overtures. If he doesn't suggest some other company is after him, management will conclude that he can't be much good and he will probably get fired. If he tries for a raise and doesn't get it, he loses face—"his star is on the wane."

A worker can punch out after eight hours and forget about the

job, but the executive averages from 60 to 80 hours. In addition to 8 or 10 hours at the office, he takes work home with him, he attends conferences and conventions, he is forced to entertain. (Entertaining takes a great deal of an executive's time and it may look, the authors admit, like "a way of enjoying the good life without paying for it.")

Since an executive's main job, as I previously explained, is to guess right 52% of the time (or one time in five, depending on your business), why should it take 80 hours a week? Exactly what is an executive DOING all this time? I quote for your information:

"The average executive spends roughly six of his eight office hours talking with other executives in meetings and conferences and he would be considered an odd bird indeed if he went out to lunch by himself. The other two hours . . . are no more than the sum of a few minutes here and there between meetings and the ringing of the telephone." At home, too, he makes telephone calls to "gas things over." This is obviously time-consuming but not too strenuous, and I'm not convinced he works harder than anyone else.

You may be surprised, as I was, to learn the boss puts in these long hours because he is afraid. One of them summed it up by saying: "You get in a certain bracket and you start getting a scare that somebody else is going to get what you want. You're afraid of slipping and being surpassed." Apparently the best defense is to surpass someone else and that keeps you busy, because every other executive has the same idea. "I like to take my vacation in three or four day stretches," one executive admits. . . "You go away for three weeks and you find when you come back that they've rearranged your entire job. I don't blame them, mind you. I'd do exactly the same thing."

The next topic is "How Executives Crack Up" and I assumed it must be the result of overwork. But the three greatest threats to an executive's stability are promotion, success and retirement. "On reaching the top, the individual may feel he lacks the incentive to go anywhere else." Or he may discover that "success does not make friends . . . that every success increases the strain of possible failure."

At this point, after a lifetime of anxiety and hard work, after he finds that each promotion means fewer friends and more headaches, you might conclude the executive would be glad to retire and take life easy. But this is what he fears most. He has no idea what to do with his free time.

I feel sorry for the executive who is an overworked man, goaded by competition and driven by fear. When he reaches the top, he finds it's a lonely place and even after a lifetime of service, he can't relax. I'd like to solve his problems and mine, too, and I have a remarkably simple idea: we can eliminate his job. When the workers control industry and do the planning, it will be a lot easier, anyway. Instead of worrying about competition and profits, we can go ahead and produce what people need, and I'm sure we can find some useful work for displaced executives.

## Calendar Of Events

**Chicago**  
You are invited to a public meeting, Sat., Aug. 17 at 8:15 P.M. on "Racial Violence and How to Prevent It." Ausp.: Socialist Workers Party, 777 W. Adams, Chicago 6, Ill. CE 6-4183.

**Cleveland**  
Garden Party given by the Cleveland Committee for the Protection of Foreign Born. Sat., Aug. 17 — 7 P.M. At the Hungarian Workers Federation, 11123 Buckeye Road. Food, Refreshments, Program. Door Prizes. Shelter if it rains.

**New York Youth**  
Young Socialist Forum, Tues., Aug. 13, 8:15 P.M. "Algeria: The Fight for National Independence." Speaker: Renee Stone of the American Youth for Socialism. Adelphi Hall, 74 Fifth Ave. (near 14th St.). Contrib. 50 cents. Students, 25 cents.

**West Coast**  
The West Coast Vacation School (30 miles from Los Angeles) will be held from Aug. 31 through Sept. 8. For information and reservations write: West Coast Vacation School, 1702 E. 4th Street, Los Angeles 33, Calif., or phone: AN 9-4953 or NO 3-0387.

## Arab Refugees



This group of Arab refugees from Israel symbolizes the plight of hundreds of thousands of displaced families throughout the Arab world. The Eisenhower Middle East Doctrine, does not bring any solution whatever to them. The prime Arab beneficiaries of that doctrine are feudal rulers such as King Ibn Saud of Saudi Arabia.

## Eisenhower's Mideast Doctrine—Its First Fruits

By Myra Tanner Weiss

Barely eight months have passed since Congress voted for the Eisenhower Middle East Doctrine. This is time enough to see just what that policy is concretely and what it is leading to. The Eisenhower Doctrine was billed as the guarantee of freedom and independence to Arab nations. It is just the opposite. It is a policy of Wall Street domination of the Mideast. Thus the first move of the State Department was to hire the slaveholding King of Saudi Arabia, Ibn Saud, as broker for its policy in the Mideast.

This was not a difficult accomplishment, for King Saud may be expensive but he can be bought. Despite all of Saudi Arabia's financial problems, and they are considerable, construction of the king's new \$90 million palace is proceeding on schedule.

In pressing to control the Mideast, the U.S. takes advantage of the Arab nationalist opposition to British and French control. But the moment the U.S. imperialists succeed in displacing their European competitors, the State Department pursues relentlessly the same course followed by their predecessors. The alliance of the U.S. with the most reactionary forces in the Arab nations, the feudal monarchs, becomes the primary means of "stabilizing" the area.

**REVERSE OLD SLOGAN**  
Paul Johnson, in the July 6 New Statesman, a British pro-labor journal, after an extensive tour of the Mideast countries, aptly characterized the Eisenhower Doctrine, like its British forerunner, as "Peace to all kings and war to all people" — the reverse of the old French revolutionary slogan.

In establishing King Saud as the Arab spearhead of the Eisenhower Doctrine, the U.S. gives peace to the king and war to the people of Saudi Arabia. For this monarch is a despot as absolute as any in Mideast history. He lives in a world of fabulous, conspicuous consumption characteristic of these ancient, slave-holding tyrants.

Jordan was the second conquest under the Eisenhower Doctrine and involved the first military action. The U.S. demonstrated here the rapidity and power with which it would move to establish its own domination. It took the British a number of months to retaliate with an invasion of Egypt after Nasser nationalized the Suez canal. Overnight the U.S. moved its troops, equipped with nuclear warheads, in order to assure the victory of the U.S. puppet King Hussein in Jordan. The British war move brought immediate United Nations protest and intervention. U.S. aggression stirred up nary a ripple in the U.N.

Hussein with U.S. help and assistance from King Saud, overthrew the first democratically elected government in Jordan. Shouting about a "Communist plot" — a charge believed by almost nobody — the absolute power of the monarch was restored and all nationalist forces systematically suppressed or crushed.

### BLOOD BATH

Paul Johnson reported, "Nearly 400 people were murdered in April; all nationalist politicians are either dead, in prison, in exile or under house-arrest. The day I arrived, a 12-year-old boy was sentenced to two years' penal servitude for writing a pathetic letter to President Nasser complaining that the police had beaten up his father. Hussein has been forced to carry out a purge of the civil service so complete that some departments can no longer function. . . . People — even those in senior positions — refuse to talk freely except in the strictest privacy." This is the kind of "freedom" the Eisenhower Doctrine brought to Jordan.

U.S. policy is not designed to freeze the status quo, to maintain "peace and order." These are objectives only where U.S. puppets are in complete control as in Saudi Arabia and now in Jordan. But for Egypt, Syria, the Lebanon, for the British-controlled Persian Gulf countries like Oman, Kuwait, Bahrain, etc., the Eisenhower Doctrine consists of plots, intrigue, and if necessary, invasion by U.S. armed forces.

The Syrian regime is one of the immediate U.S. targets. Johnson reports that U.S. agents are already at work here in alliance with the Lebanese government and the neo-fascist parties that flourish in the U.S. base at Beirut. Border unrest has also been reported recently between Syria and Jordan.

### THE TRUE PICTURE

Syria is presented in the U.S. press as a "Communist" country — or at least "communist-influenced." Actually there is only one Communist in the present parliament. The Communist Party of Syria with about 8,000 members functions in the general nationalist movement. More than two-thirds of the deputies in the government are conservative independents representing business and landed interests. Syrian businessmen accept Soviet aid because it comes without strings. If U.S. aid came in the same way they would undoubtedly accept that just as easily.

Nationalism is strong in Syria. And U.S. entry is resisted. But that doesn't solve the economic problems confronting the country. Surrounded by hostile nations, suffering economic pres-

sure from the United States, this already unstable regime is at any moment subject to a shift in allegiances among the ruling cliques and military forces. As in Jordan, a coup is being prepared to end the neutralist regime and establish a firm control for U.S. imperialists.

While King Saud plays the role of chief diplomat for the Eisenhower Doctrine among the Arab feudal forces, Beirut of the Lebanon is the center of U.S. political power in the Mideast. The U.S. has a measure of popular support among the ruling religious group of Christian Arabs. The Lebanese constitution gives the Christian Arabs 36 seats and the Moslem Arabs 30 seats, on the untested assumption that the former are the majority in the population.

### PROMOTING FASCISM

The U.S. was able to get the Eisenhower Doctrine through the parliament in Lebanon. But the U.S. is trying to consolidate its political power by pitting the Christian Arabs against the Moslems. Among the U.S. supporters, is the Christian Falange Youth Party, headed by Pierre Gemayel. Johnson had an interview with this young fascist. He shouted: "Communism is in open alliance with the disruptive forces of the Moslem nationalism. They are trying to bring politics down into the street, just as they did in Amman, [Jordan] until the Americans had them turned out. But here they will not even get that far. We shall go down into the streets too." Feudal despots, fascist aspirants, military cliques — these are the instruments of the Eisenhower Doctrine. U.S. military force, to supplement economic strength, is the power. And the intended victim is the nationalist struggle for liberation among the peoples of the Mideast.

The U.S. offers nothing different from what the British and French offered and gave for more than a century. Is it conceivable that the U.S. can succeed where the earlier imperialist powers failed? The Eisenhower Doctrine in the long-run will only succeed in driving the nationalist movement to its logical conclusion. The nationalist revolution will develop into its socialist stage and all exploitation, imperialist, feudal and capitalist, will be ended.

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# The Negro Struggle

By Ronald Jones

## Sidelights of the Tuskegee Right-to-Vote Fight

(The following are excerpts from a letter we recently received from Tuskegee, Ala. — Editor.)

At the Greenwood Mission Baptist Church, where 4,000 Tuskegee Negroes and out-of-town visitors gathered last week, one person told this story: A white woman asked her maid, "How can you colored folks go to church on Sunday and sing and shout, and then oppress the white folks all during the week?"

The story reflects the real squeeze that the white business people have been feeling as a result of the boycott of the Negroes who are fighting to win their right to vote. The white community is crying, "We are being unjustly oppressed."

The Negro people are doing most of their shopping in nearby Montgomery and other towns within an area of about 40 miles. Quite a few are buying their groceries from the three Negro grocers in town whose business has increased up to 100%.

As a safeguard against possible reprisals many bank accounts have been transferred out of town. Transportation to the nearby centers has been working effectively on an informal basis with people getting together with others in their neighborhoods to pool rides.

The spirit of the "crusaders" remains wonderfully high. Many of the people refer to the protest movement as a "crusade for first-class citizenship." The "crusade" is just about the one big subject of discussion in town with people telling you how wonderful and inspired they feel as a result of it.

But the people also understand that they have to be ready for a real fight. At a recent mass meeting Dr. Stanley H. Smith, a Tuskegee Institute sociology professor put it this way: "Things will get worse before they get better." He went on to say, "Some of us will lose our jobs, get bribed or lose some friends, but we must continue the fight."

H. G. Gaston, a prominent business and insurance man told the same meeting: "We are all behind this struggle for democracy and economic freedom. Rest assured that if the need should ever arise in this community where our people are embarrassed because of undue pressure from mortgages on investments in home and property my company stands ready to come to your aid."

The bill gerrymandering the city limits to exclude Negro voters has now become law and the Tuskegee Civic Association is readying its legal fight against it.

## A Survey of Automation

AUTOMATION AND SOCIAL PROGRESS by S. Lilley. International Publishers. 224 pages. \$3.75.

During the years 1954-55 automation was headline news. Since then however there has been a lull in articles and books on the question although automation continues to penetrate industry at a steady pace. Automation and Social Progress, just published, does the important job of summing up how far it has advanced and of posing some key problems raised by the new technology.

Dr. S. Lilley is a well known British writer on technical and social problems. In a previous book, Men, Machines and History, he traced the growth of productive forces from earlier civilizations into modern capitalism. This book is presented on a higher plane than those generally written by engineers and commentators who presume to explain all social problems through standard technical analyses.

Lilley does go into detail on all the technical aspects of automation, and then analyzes its impact upon the social structure. Of special interest are his descriptions of automation in the United States, the Soviet Union and Britain.

Lilley also underscores the difference in approach of the Soviet planners from that of the Western capitalists. Soviet engineers began in 1950 to design

and solve the problems of the automatic factory and set up two highly successful pilot plants, a ball bearing factory and a piston head factory, in which they tackled many basic unsolved problems of automated production. On the basis of these achievements they have now planned a program of rapidly expanded automation on a national scale. While the U.S. plants have introduced automation on a wider, although piecemeal scale, Soviet planning promises to outdistance it in both quantity and quality.

In the course of his analysis Dr. Lilley explodes the myth that the only reason capitalism does not make a massive turn to automation is because of the prohibitive cost. He demonstrates that in the Austin Motor Corporation of Britain the initial cost of installing an automated engine block line was 16% less than the cost of the line it replaced, while the volume of output increased 20%, machine maintenance dropped 17% and labor costs dropped 81%. In many other fields the cost of automated equipment is less than or only slightly higher than the outdated plants. He concludes that capitalists automate only when they foresee a guaranteed quick return on their investment and some super profits as well.

Another important section of the book presents the reactions of the British union ranks and of their union officials to automation. American unionists will readily recognize their own leaders in the descriptions of the British labor bureaucrats. They will conclude, as will the British workers, that any steps taken to solve the problem will have to be initiated by the rank and file.

The main weakness of the book lies in the perspective it presents for further capitalist development. While the contradictions of capitalism are generally posed correctly, the book does not show that capitalism has reached a dead end and that capitalists would plunge the world into a nuclear holocaust rather than give up its rule. Thus he sees no special urgency in organizing the struggle for socialism and no class-struggle perspective. Instead he merely poses the proposition that British workers will get socialism when they "want it enough to act boldly to get it."

However the positive features presenting the facts on automation and the problems it poses makes the book a valuable addition to every advanced worker's bookshelf.

Robert Chester

## Seamen Hit By Union Screenings

Despite the fact that a federal district court order has been issued enjoining the Coast Guard from illegally screening merchant seamen from their jobs, the leaders of the National Maritime Union in concert with the ship-owners are continuing the black-listing of those who had won reversal of the Coast Guards screening orders. The NMU was accused in a news statement issued Aug. 15 by the Seamen's Defense Committee Against Coast Guard Screening.

The Seamen's committee, with offices at 313 8th Ave., New York, charges:

"Maritime labor officials and shipowners have taken over the job of screening seamen who received their Validated Mariner's papers from the Coast Guard by order of the 9th District Court of Appeals last November. Officials of the National Maritime Union and other maritime unions are denying former members their re-issued union books and the right to register at the union hiring hall and ship out."

"The papers issued to former Coast Guard screened men bears a special inscription stating: 'Validated To be given same effect as all similar documents issued without . . . (court) . . . order.' In plain language, men having such papers are not to face any discrimination. In direct defiance of this inscription, NMU officials automatically blacklist anyone presenting such paper at the union hall."

"The union and the shipowners have agreed that the union shall not refer men to the ships whose 'loyalty' to the U.S. is in 'doubt.' This slanderous charge of 'disloyalty' was heard at the Coast Guard screening 'trials' from 1950 to 1955. The new screening 'overlook' the fact that the Ninth District Court in its original decision of November, 1955, declared the screened men not guilty of such charges, unless proven otherwise."

"In any future screening, said the Court, the men must have a fair trial where they can confront and cross-examine their accusers. The Court meant that the Coast Guard, which claims the legal right to screen . . . must provide such trials. The NMU-shipowner screening combine does not have the legal right to screen, and, incidentally, provides no trial for those now being black-listed."

# THE MILITANT

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## Tense Moment in Mississippi



These two Negro men confront an all-white registration board as they try to register to vote in Mississippi. According to statistics presented by Sen. Douglas (D-Ill.) in the current Senate debate on civil rights, only 4% of potentially eligible Negro voters in the state were registered.

## ... Both Parties Knife Bill

(Continued from page 1) voting-rights' cases only. This is regarded as the only way a Presidential veto can be avoided.

The role of both capitalist parties is clear. Politicians in both know nothing of principles. Their ideas fundamentally turn on what they think will keep them in office. As William V. Shannon pointed out in the Aug. 3 N. Y. Post, "The six hours of debate [on Aug. 1] were largely meaningless since all but a few members had their minds made up and those wavering few were convinced in the cloakrooms and not on the floor."

The real business is not conducted publicly because deals are involved. Votes are obtained for one issue by promising votes on some other issue. This is the usual way laws are enacted in Congress. But for the labor movement to engage in this unprincipled horse-trading is an abomination. And some sections of organized labor did precisely that.

As the AFL-CIO was on record as opposed to the jury-trial amendment. But the opposition of this top labor body was belated and weak.

This half-hearted record-making could do very little to strengthen the weak spines of labor's liberal "friends" that were already bending in a deep bow to the Dixiecrats. If Meany's committee did any lobbying on Aug. 1, it didn't create much of a stir.

However, the officials of the railroad brotherhoods and John L. Lewis of the United Mine

Workers were not idle. Lewis opportunistically yielded on civil rights under the illusion that the anti-labor Congress and Administration would let slip through a concession to labor by weakening anti-labor injunctions through an overall jury trial provision in contempt cases.

But the immediate issue before labor, was the defense of the elementary right of the Negro people to vote. To barter off the civil rights of the Negro people was to betray in shameful fashion basic principles for which the labor movement has long fought and to disrupt white and Negro working-class solidarity. The fight against the labor injunction was a separate fight and could have been waged another time.

The lobbyists for the railroad brotherhoods worked throughout the day in the cloakrooms for passage of the jury-trial amendment. Did they sell out the Negro people for promised Dixiecrat aid to their bill on retirement funds?

According to Shannon, the misleaders of the postal workers also campaigned for the amendment. Did they see an "easy" way to get pay increases for their members? It is not likely that they consulted the union membership.

The corruption of the labor bureaucrats was never more evident. But it is doubtful that McClellan's racket committee will investigate this type of political corruption. To capitalist politicians it is the normal way to do business.

## Urges Support To N.Y. Socialist Workers Ticket

By Gladys Barker

Former SWP Candidate for President of the City Council

It is my earnest hope that Joyce Cowley and her running mates on the Socialist Workers Party ticket will receive wide spread support from the working people of New York both in their drive to win a place on the ballot and at the polls on election day.

Working people certainly have nothing to gain by supporting either the Republicans or the Democrats (whose candidates were hand-picked by Tammany Hall). Both of these parties have demonstrated by their record that their job is to serve the interest of the Wall Street bankers and rent-gouging landlords who have been running New York for too long a time already.

In this election the Socialist Workers Party provides the working people with an alternative to voting for the political servants of the rich. The Socialist Workers Party and its candidates have proven both by their program and by their record that they serve the needs of the people in New York who must work for a living; of the people who suffer discrimination because of the color of their skin or their place of birth; of the people who have to pay outrageous rents for overcrowded and unsafe dwellings; and of the people who don't get decent schools or playgrounds for their children.

SEEK EFFECTIVE LAW While Mayor Wagner, his fellow-Democrats and his Republican opponents are busy gutting the Sharkey-Isaacs-Brown bill to outlaw discrimination in housing, the Socialist Workers Party is campaigning for a law that will really knock Jim Crow out of New York housing.

The Republicans and Democrats want a law that will put landlords guilty of racial discrimination in jail if a stiff fine isn't enough to make them stop their Jim-Crow practices. The Republican and Democrats join hands in "relocating" slums in order to permit the building of luxury apartments at a handsome profit for the real estate sharks. The SWP has been fighting for a program of low cost public housing that would provide every working class



GLADYS BARKER

family in this city with a decent home at a rent they can afford to pay. And the Socialist Workers Party has presented facts and figures to prove that an administration that has the courage to tax the rich could easily raise the money to finance such a housing program.

SPEAKS OUT

Both the Republicans and Democrats have been spending their time trying to talk the urgently-needed school integration program to death. On the other hand, Joyce Cowley, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Mayor has spoken out clearly at a public hearing for an immediate rezoning program to abolish Jim Crow in the city's school system. The SWP has helped to build up public pressure for building the new schools needed to replace present overcrowded firetraps. And it has consistently advocated higher pay for teachers.

These are some of the things the Socialist Workers Party has fought and continues to fight for. Your support will help advance the fight.

## Lovell Offers Program To Aid Detroit Jobless

DETROIT, Aug. 3.—By coincidence, the big business candidate and the socialist candidate for Mayor of Detroit both spoke up on the same day this week about the increasingly grave unemployment problem in this city. The contrast between what they proposed should make it easier for workers to decide how to vote in the primary next month.

The Labor Department has just dropped Detroit into the "D" category of unemployment (between 6 and 9% of the work force jobless).

Sarah Lovell socialist candidate for Mayor, immediately called on the Common Council (1) to put pressure on Washington for a big public works program (building homes, schools, hospitals and roads) to provide work for the unemployed, and (2) to encourage the movement for a 30-hour week in private industry by establishing such a work standard for city employees.

"There is plenty of money for a public works program in Washington right now," she said, "but it is being wasted on war preparations, bombs, testing of H-bombs, etc. Let's put pressure on the federal government to use that money for constructive and peaceful purposes."

MIRIANI'S DEMANDS

The big business candidate for Mayor, Louis C. Miriani, who is now president of the Common Council, had an entirely different approach to the problem.

He wants Detroit to put pressure on Washington too, but for something else:

He asked the Council to select a special representative "who will camp on the federal government's doorstep" to swing U.S. war production contracts into the Detroit Area.

Sarah Lovell couples the fight against unemployment with the fight against war. Miriani, on the contrary, can't even conceive of action against unemployment



SARAH LOVELL

that isn't linked to war production.

Miriani, by the way, is a Republican, although not listed as such in this so-called "non-partisan" election. But Republicans aren't the only ones who see no solution for unemployment except in increased arms production.

The day after Miriani spoke, Gov. Williams, a Democrat, and a liberal Democrat at that, came out with substantially the same proposal when he called for a "task force" to go to Washington to beg for more "defense" contracts.

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## How Louisiana Keeps Negroes from Voting

The FBI, made an investigation in Louisiana last year on the illegal methods used to prevent Negroes from voting. Its findings were made available to the U.S. Senate—the morning after that body concluded its jury-trial amendment vote last week. Some of the facts in the report were presented in the Aug. 4 New York Times.

The FBI found that in each of the five Louisiana parishes (counties) where it studied the problem, hundreds of Negro citizens were illegally removed from the registration roles just before the 1956 elections.

DIDN'T GUESS RIGHT

Many were "disqualified" because they had written "Negro" or "colored" on a registration form that said: "My color is —." The "correct" answer called for an actual color, such as "black" or "brown" for Negroes. A white person would be correct if he answered "white." In another case cited by the FBI, a Negro voter who managed to get three white witnesses to identify him when his registra-

tion was challenged had his witnesses rejected because they were not Negroes.

In Caldwell Parish, some 68 registered Negroes were challenged by two whites in May, 1956. The challenges were neither verified nor published in a newspaper as required by law. Yet all 68 were prevented from voting in a city election that June.

However, this left almost four hundred Negroes still registered in the parish. Soon afterward the registrar was called before a meeting of the local White Citizens Council and "admonished, whereupon he got down to business. He challenged 266 of those whose registrations he had previously accepted. He had now "discovered" errors on their registration cards. Those who resisted his challenge were told they would have to produce three registered Negro voters from their own precinct as witnesses as well as getting a policeman to identify them. Two of those challenged managed to stay on the voting list.

NOT IN THE LAW

In other parishes, the FBI found, those Negro voters who had been challenged were told they would have to get affidavits

from voters who had not been challenged. The FBI could not find any such requirement in the election law.

Some Negroes had their application for registration thrown out because they had made an error of one day or more in stating their exact age at time of registration in years, months and days. Many who were making their first application were rejected because they could not swear that there had been no error in any earlier application.

In one parish, a Negro who had been challenged succeeded in getting affidavits from four white voters. The four were visited by the White Citizens Council and two quickly withdrew their affidavits.

The FBI found that all of the "errors" committed by Negroes in the five parishes were made just as frequently by whites but virtually nothing was done about the white "errors."

THAT'S DIFFERENT

A Louisiana newspaper, the Colfax Chronicle, checked a hundred white registrants in one parish. Only two of them could qualify by the standards applied to Negroes. The paper reported that not a single member of a White Citizens Council committee which had been spearheading the drive against Negro registrants could meet the qualifications set for Negroes.

What is the FBI doing about these flagrant violations of the law of the land? The Justice Department presented cases based on this report to a Federal Grand Jury in Louisiana at the beginning of the year. The all-white jury refused to return any indictments.

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